A Short and True

RELATION

OF

INTRIGUES

TRANSACTED,

Both at Home and Abroad,

To Reſtore the Late

King JAMES.

Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6.

Facilis deſcenſus Averni, ſed revocare gradum hic labor, hoc opus eſt.

London, Printed in the Year, 1694.

A ſhort and true Relation of Intrigues tranſacted at Home and Abroad, to reſtore the late King James.

WE may ſee, by the overturn of the late King, the Inſtability of Human Greatneſs; and that Soveraignty is like the Globe of the Earth, full of Windings and Turnings, having its Ebbs and Flows like the Ocean, which never reſts, and which ſhews Government to be a ſlippery Path; for if the Prince chance to catch a Fall, though ſuch a Miſhap may not prove Mortal, yet it ſo diſables him ever after, that he cannot recover himſelf: Which at this time ſeems verified in the Fall of the late King, who now finds himſelf miſtaken in his Meaſures, which renders all his Endeavours frivolous, and turns to no other Account, but to fruſtrate his Expectations, and to remove his Hopes from ever aſcending the Engliſh Throne again.

The Nobles and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, after the late King's Coronation, demonſtrated their Fidelity to him, by their unexpected Attainder of the late Duke of *Monmouth*, who but a little before was the Peoples Darling, and yet notwithſtanding was ſacrificed for the preſervation of the late King; an Inſtance of ſo much Integrity at that Juncture of Time, when the late King dreaded nothing more than the Landing of the Duke of *Monmouth*, that if the late King had but eſteemed the Affection of the People, purſuant to the Experience he had then of their Loyalty, and retained the ſame, and contained himſelf within the Rules of Moderation in point of good Government, and not openly exceeded the Limits of the Law, and ſtrove to content the People, which is the End of all good Government, a Duty incumbent upon Kings and Princes to do, he might have Ruled and Reigned to this Day, and all the Days of his natural Life, with as much Honour, Grandeur and Satisfaction, as any Prince that ever reigned in *England*.

The late King had more Experience in Government than any Prince that came before him. He had seen the Tragical Fate of his Father's Death, the Turnings and Windings in his late Brother's Reign, wherein he himself had an ample Share every way; and was fifty two years a Subject before he came to be King: So that it might be expected from a Prince of his Knowledg and Years, to rule well, and to fulfil that Saying of *Mæcenas* to *Augustus*, *Nemo bene Imperat nisi qui ante paruerit Imperio.* Whereas had the late King but kept the Reins of his Government equal in his Hand, so as to be able to have made a Judgment when to drive fast or slow, and between both had kept a middling Pace, and by an impartial distribution of Justice pleased the lower Orb, and trusted not too far to corrupted Ministers and Judges, who are the Plagues of all Governments, according to *Cicero*, *Acceptatio munerum est prævaricatio Justitiæ & Veritatis*, he had been now, instead of a Deposed Prince in a Foreign Land, happy at Home. But now he can tell, that a People can do better without a King, than a King without a People; and as nothing would have pleased his Ambition but to trample upon the Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects, so the Subjects thought themselves obliged to let him know, that the Affection of the People is the surest Foundation of Government, by their declaring their aversion to the late King, and seating the present King and Queen upon the Throne.

The late King thought to imitate *Henry* the 8*th* the contrary way, but came short of his Undertaking, and losing the Love of his People, lost himself and three Kingdoms. *Henry* the 8*th* fought the Pope at his own Weapons, pick'd his Locks with his own Keys, lock'd in the Supremacy, and shut out the Pope: And for his Seconds, had the two great Convocations of Roman Catholick Divines then residing in both the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridg*, together with all the Monastical and Collegiat Theologues throughout the whole Kingdom; which bespeaks the English Roman Catholicks, both at *Rome* and all Abroad, very scandalous, having no Reputation nor Esteem any where out of *England*, but hated mortally.

The late King to oblige the Pope, and out of his fervent Zeal to Religion likewise, went about to alter the Case, and to remove the Aspersion, wherewith all the English Roman Catholicks are branded, and fix it upon English Protestants, when he with a Protestant Army attempted to establish Popery, against Law, in a Protestant King-

Kingdom, and to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion. An Undertaking too dangerous (as it fell out) to be attempted; and no wonder it ſhould, when a Prince, againſt all the Rules of Religious Policy, and contrary to good Conduct in point of good Government, without any more neceſſity to compel him than his Ambition and Zeal, to take ſuch Meaſures as would not only incenſe the People againſt him, and inflame three Kingdoms, but alſo entail an Inteſtine War upon the Kingdom: For St. *Auguſtin*, a great Doctor in the Church, as well as in the Politicks, ſays, *Remota juſtitia, & quid ſunt Regna, ſed magna Latrocinia?* the removing of Religion and Juſtice, lets in an Inundation of Sorrow, Calamity, and Diſtreſs, to the overthrow of all good Law and moral Honeſty; which the late King now ſees, when inſtead of being attended by his Nobles, Miniſters, and his Judges, and ſeated at Home upon the Throne, he himſelf, with the help of his more than corrupted Council, brought all upon himſelf, and is neceſſitated to be maintained at the Expence of another Prince: which ſhews the Uncertainty, as well as the Infelicity of humane Greatneſs, to ſee a Prince that might have been happy, but would not, and now inſtead of Ruling and Commanding his late great Officers, is again glad to receive and liſten to the meaneſt of his late Subjects: A Prince that would not hear the Counſel of the Wiſe, but embraced the Advice of Fools, is accordingly accommodated; who expected by his Exile, when he left his People, to return Triumphantly an abſolute Monarch, as he thought; but ſo far from it at this time, that that Prince from whom he expected Succour, has enough to do to defend himſelf, being ſurrounded by many Enemies, which leaves the late King no hopes of Supply there, having to that purpoſe received the King of *France*'s Anſwer but in *February* laſt, which crown'd all the late King's Misfortunes with additional Sorrow, as preſently will appear.

The late King hath no other Remedy left him, as the Caſe ſtands now Abroad, but to court his late injured People to bring him back again; which is not ſo eaſily to be comprehended: That Prince muſt be reduced to great Hardſhips, that firſt receives a broken Head, and petitions him that gave it for a Plaiſter, it looks as if no other was or is to be had: But wo be to him that takes that Meaſure for his Redreſs.

The late King believes that the ſame People that betrayed and deſerted him, may be prevailed with by his Declarations and Proteſtations

teſtations to reſtore him again. But, God comfort him! he is miſtaken; the Caſe is ſince altered, and thoſe Religious Weather-cocks, upon whoſe Promiſes he does (at this time) depend, are as Impotent to do him any Good, as they were Potent to ruin him when here laſt; they have not that Virtue that's ſaid to be in *Achilles*'s Spear, they gave the mortal Wound, but they cannot heal it now they would, being out of their reach.

And the late King expecting they could, to pleaſe them, hath excluded the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, both innocent of the Misfortunes that juſtly overtook him; and is ſo conſcientious, that he condemns the Innocent, and pardons the Nocent, when he offers all the Proteſtant Diſſenters and the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, (the latter having been Sufferers with a Vengeance in his Cauſe) as an Oblation to the *Paſſive-Obedience* Men, who infuſed Non-reſiſtance into the late Army: And now theſe are the late King's Creatures, and the only Perſons that would abdicate the Goſpel, as they did their Paſſive-Obedience King, rather than the Church-Livings.

The late King fulfils the true Character of his Family in himſelf, that have been all known to be unconſtant, and unfaithful to their Friends, and liberal and grateful to their Foes. But God has accordingly dealt with them, he has raiſed them a multitude of Enemies, and left the Succeſſion of this Crown (without any Seconds) to fight its Battel: And if it be remembred how that the late King, and his Brother *Charles* the Second, after their return from Exile, treated the decayed Cavaliers, who loſt their All in their Cauſe, it ſhould leave him deſtitute of Friends. And if it be alſo conſidered how many Noblemen and Gentlemen, that ſpent their Eſtates and Fortunes in the Defence of the Succeſſion of this Crown, and how they were rewarded by King *Charles* the Second, and by the late King, having received for their Comforts in Diſtreſs, petitioning about *White-hall*, nothing but Sham-References to the Treaſury, and paid in cold Waiting, long Attendance, Tricks, Diſappointments, Promiſes and Delays, that betwixt King-Craft, and Court-Cheats, and Sharpers, Perſons of unqueſtionable Families, unſpotted Loyalty, and Sufferers in abundance, have famiſhed for Hunger, and periſhed with Cold, and their Poſterity to this Day left without any Satisfaction, and reduced to a very mean and low Condition; which ſhould take away the leaſt Encouragement

ment from all Persons to intermeddle in the late King's Cause, but look upon his Fall, and the overthrow of his Crown, a Judgment due to the Family, and may say, *Justus es Deus, & justum est Judicium tuum.* It would be a pity indeed that all the Family should depart this World, till they, or some of them, atone for the manifold Abominations wherewithal they stand charged here, as well as before the Great Tribunal, for what Evils they have committed against their People.

The *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, although in Point of Interest and Persuasion different from us, yet to do them Right, have deserved well from the late King, though ill from us; and for the late King to leave them and exclude them, is such an Instance of mean Ingratitude, that Protestants have no reason to stand by a Prince that deserts his own Party, and a People that have been faithful to him and his Interest to the very last. That they were overcome, is not so much to be wondered at, as their holding out against the Power and Wealth of *England*, and against all Nations to admiration so long as they did, and at last to force such Conditions from us, as should render them a People never to be forgotten by the Successors of this Crown: but King *James* is the late unchangeable King *James* still, a King that is not to be found but upon Uncertainty. What have the *Protestant Dissenters* done to him, that he has in the Articles of *September* last excluded them? They had no hand in Undermining, Betraying, nor Deserting of him, they have carried themselves obedient to his lawful Commands; and because they did so, he, contrary to all his Pretensions of former Zeal for Liberty of Conscience, by his Exceptions in the said Articles, exposes them all to Ruin and Destruction; that is to say, when he returns. But when the *Dissenters* consider how he deserts those of his own Religion, they may content themselves with being as they are, out of the reach of his Hatred; and seeing that his Favours are only reserved to promote his Enemies, and that he has lost all Abroad, let his Enemies grow potent every where, and numerous withal, and let him be so lost, that he may never be found here at Home.

Now seeing the late King hath exposed himself, by excluding a People that never prejudiced him nor his Interest, to gratify the Desires of those that have turned him out of all: It is hop'd, that as he had the pleasure of Excepting, that he will give leave to return him a *Quid* for his *Quo*, by directing such Measures, as may antici-

anticipate all his throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and by intimating to the Government such a Method as may for the future detect all the Devices on foot in order to his Restauration, and so have his Exceptions by his own Exclusion executed.

The following Relation, as had from Gentlemen of very good Note, who have seen most of the Transactions at St. *Germains* for about four Years last past, gives a very impartial Account of Affairs, and shews the Connexion of Foreign and Domestick Intrigues, carried on and managed with restless Industry now for about two Years last past, in order to the Restauration of the late King; which at last turned to no better Account, than to put a Period to his Expectations, by leaving him but small or no Hopes to return ever again, as will plainly appear; the Truth whereof will want no Confirmation, for farther enquiry into Foreign Affairs will remove all Doubts, and leave no room for Contradiction.

ABOUT two Years since the late King had great hopes to be restored with Triumph, and fed himself with the thoughts of being an absolute Monarch, having about that Time received great Encouragement, as well from the *Pope* as from the *French* King, which made him look above the Reach of his late Subjects, (as he thought) and to reject all my Lord *Preston*'s Undertakings, and the rest concerned in that Intrigue; which was like to have cost my Lord *Preston* his Life, and for which he had no Thanks, but on the contrary was despised for meddling; the late King protesting then, that he had rather never see *England*, than come to treat or capitulate with his Subjects again: But he soon altered his Resolution, seeing Affairs Abroad thwart his Designs; and meeting with such unexpected Disappointments, which abated much of the Thoughts he retained but a little before; so that of a sudden Motion, he with great Impatience consulted some of his Protestant Council, telling them that he was resolved to treat with his late Subjects, and give them any Conditions rather than stand out any longer, concluding that nothing would more conduce to his Restauration, than to reconcile himself to his late Subjects.

In order thereto an Express was sent to *England*, with Instructions to my Lord *Middleton* and some others, to treat with the People, and to know their Inclinations by feeling how their Pulses beat, and accordingly to proceed: Which my Lord *Middleton* did,

and

and drew a Declaration anſwerable to the Deſires of the Churchmen of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſome other Heads of both the Kingdoms: And after ſome Debates, my Lord *Middleton* went away for *France*, and arrived at St. *Germains* the beginning of *March*, or thereabouts, $169\frac{2}{3}$; produced the Declaration, which admitted of high Debates, and long Arguments *pro* and *con*, as their ſeveral ſeparate Intereſts moved the Miniſters of St. *Germains*: But my Lord *Melford* ſtarted ſeveral Caſes of Conſcience againſt the late King's ſigning the ſaid Declaration; inſomuch that to be ſatisfied therein, and to remove all Scruples of Conſcience, the late King conſulted the College of *Sorbon*, and the Iriſh College likewiſe. The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared againſt the ſaid Declaration, and the *Iriſh* College for it.

The Iriſh College gave theſe Reaſons, That the King was in Exile, baniſhed his Kingdoms by his own Children and Subjects for his Religion; that as the Caſe ſtood with him, there was no Remedy for his Reſtauration left him, but to comply with his Subjects, and to ſign any Inſtrument whatever, for to prevail with them to accept of him home again; and whatever he ſhould ſign whilſt in Exile, and under Tribulation abroad, he ſhould not in Conſcience be obliged to perform after his Reſtauration, as exacted from him *per* Force and Dureſs; which renders all Conditions and Agreements of that kind, neither obligatory nor binding, any longer than a fit Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf to break them; [and wherein he would but imitate his Brother *Charles* II. who took the Covenant in *Scotland*, and after his Reſtauration burnt it at *London*, by the hands of the Common Hangman.] The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared againſt this kind of Machiavelian Doctrine, and againſt the Declaration too: Yet notwithſtanding the late King did ſign the ſaid Declaration on the Conſideration aforeſaid. But my Lord *Melford* and my Lord *Middleton* fell out, and are to this day irreconcilable; they do not contend for any Good either of them would do to this Side or that Side, but their Quarrel is like that of *Ceſar* and *Pompey*, who ſhould be the *Greateſt*, not the *Beſt*: But *Melford* (a Convert in Wolves Dreſs, under the ſhadow of Religion) bears the Sway, *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*

The ſaid Declaration ſo ſigned by the late King, was ordered to be ſent into *Flanders* to be read there at the Head of the Iriſh Troops; but was to them the moſt unwelcome and unacceptable Meſſage that ever they met withal, or that the late King could ſend

 them,

them, finding by the ſaid Declaration, that they loſt themſelves both at Home and Abroad, by the late King; which cauſed ſuch a Conſternation in the Camp, that the Souldiers (who would be glad of any Occaſion to quit the Service and to return Home) openly mutinied; having ſtarted the Queſtion, that now being deſerted by King *James*, why ſhould they not go over to King *William* and accept of Conditions? But the Queſtion was carried in the Negative, and an Expreſs ſent immediately to St. *Germains*, to let the late King know the Diſcontent amongſt the Souldiers, and the Diſorder in the Camp occaſioned by the ſaid Declaration. Here K. *James* returns to himſelf again, and after his old Cuſtom of Doing and Undoing, gets another Declaration drawn, ſigns the ſame, to null the former, and ſends away two Gentlemen and two Clergymen of Note with this new Declaration for *Flanders*, to pacify the Iriſh, and to give them Content; which for ſome Days gave ſome Satisfaction, but not ſo much as to harbour a good Thought of the late King, believing that if ever he ſhould be reſtored, they would be all loſt through his Unconſtancy; and that by repoſing their Truſt in him, they confided in a rotten Reed: but however they were appeaſed for that time.

Here the late King, forgetting his laſt Declaration and Proteſtation to the Iriſh, ſends the firſt Declaration for *England* without any Amendment, or taking any notice of the laſt Declaration to the Iriſh; but with the former Exception againſt them, he lets it paſs for *England*. Here (as they relate it Abroad) it was publiſhed the 19*th* of *May* laſt; but ſeveral not believing the ſame to be the late King's Declaration, but the Product of ſome other Invention to amuſe the People, ſeem'd diſguſted at it, and would give it no Credit: But that the People may be undeceived in the ſaid Declaration, notice was ſent to St. *Germains* what the People ſaid about it; and immediately to remove all Doubts touching the ſame, the late King cauſed it to be put in the *Paris* Gazette, where (to his great Diſhonour and Diſadvantage) it was publiſhed by Authority, which gave Content in *England*, and great Diſcontent to the *Iriſh* Army, who are ever ſince in great diſorder about it: but the King of *France* has promiſed to ſee them righted, who are all very unruly and weary of King *James*, (except ſome Officers, that cannot live ſo well at Home as in their Station Abroad) and willing to quit the Service upon any reaſonable Conditions whatſoever; eſpecially the common Souldiers, who are extraordinary

poor

poor and dissatisfied, would give any thing to be at Home.

The Nobility and Gentry of *France* finding a Declaration of King *James*'s in the *Paris* Gazette, were surprized at it; and seeing him desert the *Roman Catholick* Interest, did look upon it as very great Unconstancy of Resolution, which in truth removed the Interest and Affection of the Clergy and Nobility of *France* from him, who, before that Publication, were all resolved for him, and to promote his Restauration to their Power; but since are grown cold upon the Matter, and but indifferent whether he be restored or not. In the Court of *France* the late King is extreamly much made of; but had he more Constancy of Mind, he would be much better looked upon there, where nothing else but Resolution is in Esteem.

The said Declaration, it seems, had such Effects, that some have been pleased to send away a Draught of Articles or Conditions, contained, as reported from abroad, under twelve Heads, which the late King, in farther confirmation of his good Will to that Party he relies on, hath in *September* last signed, as they say that came from thence. Since the return of the said Articles for *England* signed, they say abroad, that Preparations have been diligently used for the Restoration of the late King.

And that in *December* last an Express arrived from *England* at *St. Germains*, which gave the satisfactory account of the Peoples return to their former Allegiance to King *James*: how true or false it was, that Court was so elevated with Joy, that nothing was talked off, but an immediate Return for *England*, all there striving who should be foremost upon the Expedition; others, to make some considerable Figure, came away, as they say, to have some Men in readiness against the Landing here in *England*. Frequent fresh News came from *England*, confirming the same; and every half-starved poor Man about Court used his Interest to have some considerable Imployment; and he that could not be in a valuable Station, thought himself as good as lost: by which we may judg how the Jacobites here in *England* would be look'd on. But it's thought the late King would continue his Favour to them, by leaving them always reserved to drink his Health, an Imployment most sutable to their Principles; for certainly they that live in so merry a Mode in his Absence, cannot but do extraordinary well when he returns, that is to say, if their Money holds out, otherwise they may become *Williamites*.

About this time *France* was as full of the Expectation of a General Peace to be concluded all abroad, as other Places were full of the Rumour thereof; and to ſtay for the Ratification, was alledged to be the only ſtop that prolonged the late King's coming away, having all things at Home and Abroad ready, doubting not in the leaſt but all things would have anſwered Expectation. But all the Preparations returned to nothing, and the great Joy, of a ſudden, to Sorrow, inſomuch that all the Tidings at Home and Abroad met together, in the Diſſolution of the Hopes of a ſecond Reſtoration.

The late King having about the fourth Day of *February* laſt, New Stile, acquainted the French King with the frequent good Tidings from his late Subjects, who now were returned to their Allegiance, and all free to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for his Return, which he ſaid, were all true according to his Intelligence, and that he was moſt certain and ſure that none would oppoſe him in *England*; the French King told him, that he was glad to hear it, and wiſhed it might prove ſo, but ſeem'd to give little Credit to it.

The late King preſſed hard to have ſome Succours to come for *England* the beginning of laſt *March*, but ſtill the French King doubted the Reality of the Engliſh to him, alledging thus, as King *James* repeated the ſame after his return from *Verſailles* to St. *Germains*:

Firſt, ſays the French King, as you have experience to know your Subjects, ſo I know them by their Character, and do believe them to be a People of no Faith, no Honour, and no Honeſty, whom no Promiſe can oblige, nor Oath can bind: And as for their Clergy, I look upon them much worſe than the Commonalty, having not only by Teaching and Preaching taught the People to forſwear themſelves, but ſhewed ill Examples in themſelves by doing the ſame; they have ſworn Allegiance to you, and ſince accepted of the Prince of *Orange* for their King, and ſwear Allegiance to him; how this Swearing to both can be reconciled, I cannot underſtand: But let them ſwear what they will, I ſhould not believe them, nor put any more value upon their Oath than they do themſelves, which is nothing at all. Neither do I underſtand how you can be aſſured of them that have no other Aſſurance to give you of their future Fidelity but their Oaths, which are worth as much now, as when they broke with your Majeſty laſt;

laſt; it is out of my reach to put any Truſt in ſuch People, neither would I have you confide in them, for I doubt much their Integrity; and if they are weary of the War at a Diſtance, what will they not be when it's with them at Home? that will be your time to hear them, and not before.

The late King ſtill urged to come for *England*.

Whereupon the French King told him, ſeeing he had that Confidence in his Subjects, that if they did but demonſtrate their Fidelity by ſome Action, as the ſeizing of any Citadel, Town or Fort of any good Conſequence, and put ſuch in his Hands as might be for the Safety of his Ships, and ſecure the landing of an Army; that after that was effectually done, he would give him Succours; but before, he did not think it ſafe to venture, conſidering how his own Affairs ſtood at Home and Abroad. The late King preſſed no further upon him, but returned to St. *Germains*, where he told all the Particulars, which put that Court into ſuch a Fit of Grief and Sorrow, that they were all like ſo many People going to die. In five days after, all the decayed Gentlemen about Court were ordered ſome Advance-Money upon their Penſions, and commanded Homeward, to make the beſt of their Way and Conditions, who are now upon the Road for *Flanders*, others coming for *England*, and the reſt begging all along, being in a moſt deplorable Condition.

The Engliſh Proteſtants about that Court do wiſh themſelves at Home again, for there they are reſpected as Strangers, but hated as Proteſtants, and looked upon as Spies from *England*; ſo are ſome Roman Catholicks too, who thereupon, both Clergy and Laity, were forbid the Court.

The Proteſtants are hated likewiſe by the People there, who have the ſame Notion of Religion, if not with more Zeal, as the People here: The Proteſtants are under the Calumnies of the late King's Declaration, and the Articles both againſt Roman Catholicks and Diſſenters; and the Engliſh Proteſtants about Court on that account are loathed and hated by the People there, who are full of it: For Engliſh Proteſtants to go for *France*, to propagate their Religion, where a Native Proteſtant cannot live, is but like the Quakers that went to *Rome* to reconcile the Pope to be a Quaker; they are equally looked upon, though not equally treated; the Quakers were looked upon in *Rome* to be mad Men, and were ſent to *Bedlam*, but our Engliſh Proteſtants are yet at

Liberty,

Liberty, and in more danger of the *Baſtile* than of *Bedlam*, being of late upon their Good-behaviour, but ſtill much ſuſpected.

The late King did all along rely upon the Pope's Intereſt to mediate a Peace Abroad, and addreſſed a great many other Princes to the ſame purpoſe, hoping that a Peace Abroad would be a means to bring him to his late Home: The Pope did uſe his Intereſt that way, and ſo did the Princes of *Italy*, but it was to no Effect; for no Body ſeem'd willing but the French King to accept of the Peace, which in him was but to wheedle ſome of the Confederate Princes to liſten to his Propoſals, and accept of his Conditions, to divide and break the Allies, and that ſo by taking off ſome, and diſperſing their Forces, he may with the more Facility cruſh the reſt, and break all at laſt: But the Confederates who are ſenſible of his Deſigns, will accept of no Conditions from him of his own Propoſals, but intend to bring him to their Conditions; they all foreſee that he intends to become Emperor of the Weſt, which he cannot attain to, but in conſequence muſt extirpate the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in whoſe Preſervation all the Princes think themſelves obliged to keep up the War, rather than voluntarily ſuffer themſelves to be brought under a Yoke of Tyranny and Uſurpation.

The Emperor is well ſatisfied, that the War made by the Grand Seignior againſt the Empire, was promoted by the French King, and ſince furthered by him; which conſideration requires the Emperor to decline all his Propoſals until the French King firſt allays that War raiſed by himſelf upon the Emperor. As for the King of *Spain*, the French King is a Plague to him by ravaging of his Territories, ſeizing his Towns and Forts, without any pretence of Juſtice, and compelling his Subjects to ſwear Allegiance to him by the Law of Conqueſt, which by Divine Law is no Lawful Right, but a Homicide and open Robbery; for Mankind was free in the beginning, but ſince by the Power of Uſurpation ſubjected under a Yoke, which loſt the World forty times over more Lives, to continue and maintain Man's Ambition over Man, than are left living in the World: therefore as God's Laws are againſt deſtroying and killing of Men, certainly that Power which cannot govern nor live, but upon the deſtruction of God's Creation, cannot be called Juſt nor Lawful *Jure Divino*, but an abſolute Tyranny; though ſome of our Divines will ſay that a Conqueſt is a Lawful Title, ſo it is by the Law of the Sword, but againſt the Law of Natural Right.

Some

Some perhaps may take occaſion to queſtion, by what Law did King *William* and Queen *Mary* aſcend this Throne? A Queſtion as ſoon anſwered, By a better Title than ever *Alexander* the Great, or *Julius Ceſar* had to any Part of their ſeveral Conqueſts. K. *William* and Queen *Mary* had the Choice and Affection of the People, which is the beſt Foundation, and ſureſt Title that ever Prince had to build upon, and without which no Prince can be ſafe on the Throne. But that Prince that has it, and knows how to keep it, and retains it, may reign and rule in defiance of all Foreign Enemies; if it does not happen to him to have a corrupted Council, which is the overthrow of any State, Kingdom or Empire. We need not go Abroad for Precedents, having ſome of the Council at Home in being, that brought us almoſt to Deſtruction, and are as likely to do it once again as ever they did before, if God prevents not. It is true enough, that where a Prince has not an Army to rule abſolutely, no King of *England* can hurt the Privileges of the Subjects, if his Miniſters and Judges be but faithful to the Prince and People, in diſcharge of their Truſt according to Law; but otherwiſe all goes to wrack.

We exclaim againſt the late King's Evil Counſellors, and who can ſay that there was one good amongſt them? It is commonly ſaid, that they that have betray'd the Secrets of one King againſt the Oaths commonly taken, have ſince betrayed another: Or how can this King and Queen believe themſelves happy in the Counſel of thoſe, whom they themſelves know to have been falſe to the late King? Or is it to be thought the Kingdom is aſleep, when a Clamour is raiſed againſt the late King's Evil Counſellors, when at the ſame time the major Part of them are ſtill in our Councils and Places of Truſt? which denotes a long Snake in the Graſs. But I ſhall do by them as God Almighty did, leave them, and return to conclude my Diſcourſe; only adding, that the Court of St. *Germains* dreads nothing more than ſuch an Alteration of the Lieutenancy and Juſtices of Peace over all *England*, as it has pleaſed their Majeſties of late to cauſe in *London*.

The Reſolution of the Confederates againſt the Peace, has altered the Meaſures of *France*, aboliſhed the Thoughts of a Reſtauration, and has put a Period to all the Deſigns of an Invaſion from *France* hither. It is of all hands in *France* believed, that thrô the Diſtraction amongſt the Clergy and Gentry about the Taxes, the ſcarcity

ſcarcity of Money among the Commonalty, with the want of Proviſion, and the exceſſive Expences of the War to maintain ſo many Armies, the Glory of that Crown, without a Peace, cannot hold much longer; the declination of the Wealth of *France* having reduced all People to a very low Ebb.

And if the late King and the French King did hold a Reſolution to land an Army in this Kingdom, this Iſland is ſo naturally ſtrongly ſituated, that they would find it a difficult Matter to land an Army here, having the Elements to fight with, and the Sea to conquer, before they can touch the Shore: and perhaps the Attempt, whenever tried, may prove as fatal to *France*, as the overthrow of the Spaniſh Armado was to *Spain*. Which makes me think of *Hegeſippus*, who perſonated King *Agrippa*, in his Diſcourſe to *Claudius* of the Danger and Difficulty of invading *Great Britain*; which Diſcourſe ended, as *Florus* ſaid of the *Ligurians*, and as I may ſay and conclude,

Major labor eſt invenire, quam vincere.

Mr. *Waller*. 'Tis not ſo hard, for greedy Foes to ſpoil
Another Nation, as to touch our Soil.

FINIS.